

Early shortage

THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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FORTHCOMING MEETINGS

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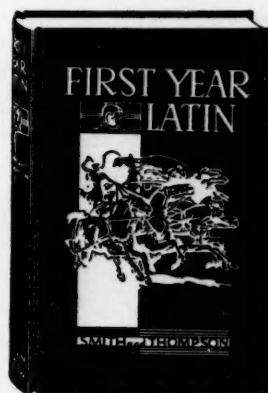
THE LANGUAGE OF LEADERS

Latin has always been a leader among the studies of culture. Its value as a background for the learned professions of the Church, Medicine, and Law is obvious.

Latin has also been a basic factor in the success of the world's great leaders. Particularly is this true of the English-speaking peoples among whom it is well understood that the masters of English have first mastered Latin.

Enrollments in Latin are today larger than heretofore, though the select fraction of those who study this subject is less than it was when high schools were smaller.

Latin is more esteemed than ever. Little profit is to be gained by listening to those who are unschooled in Latin and who, therefore, recommend less valuable subjects in its place.



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FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING, CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

The Classical Association of New England will hold its Forty-Third Annual Meeting at Milton Academy, Milton, Massachusetts, March 18-19, 1949. The guest speaker will be Professor Whitney J. Oates of Princeton University; the title of Professor Oates' address is *Securus Indicat Orbis Terrarum*. TRIUMPH OVER TIME, a film released by the American School for Classical Studies in Athens, will be shown at one session of the meeting. In addition, the following persons will read papers: Elizabeth C. Bridge of the Winsor School, *A Summer at the American Academy in Rome*; James A. Carter of Milton Academy, *Whither Latin? A Reconsideration*; Ruth Coleman of the Meriden, Connecticut High School, *Latin is a Living Language*; Nathan Dane II of Bowdoin College, *The MEDEA of Hosidius Geta*; John Finley, Jr., of Harvard University, *General Education and the Classics*; Eric A. Havelock of Harvard University, *The Journey of Aeneas through the Waste Land*; George A. Land of Newton High School, *The Man from Arpinum*; S. A. Muleahy, S. J. of Lenox, *Pro Domo Nostra*; Frances T. Nejako of Middletown, Connecticut, *The Classicist and Teacher Recruitment*; Lucy T. Shoe of the Institute for Advanced Study, *Recent Developments and Prospects in Classical Archaeology*; and George F. Whicher of Amherst College, *Horace and the Moral Obligation to be Intransigent*.

NORTHWESTERN STATE COLLEGE CONFERENCE

The fourth annual Northwestern State College Foreign Language Conference will be held on April 1 and 2, 1949, at Natchitoches, Louisiana.

The theme of this year's Conference is 'Crusading for Public Interest in Foreign Languages.' The maximum time which can be allowed a paper is twenty minutes, but shorter papers are most welcome. Those interested are requested to write promptly to Professor G. Waldo Dunnington, Director of the Conference, Box 1084, Northwestern State College, Natchitoches, Louisiana, giving title of the paper and number of minutes required for presentation.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY FOREIGN LANGUAGE CONFERENCE

The Second University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference will be held on March 31-April 2, 1949, with the theme 'Foreign Languages in Democratic Education.' The lecturers will be Dr. Walter V. Kaulfers, Professor of Education and Specialist in Foreign Language Curricula, University of Illinois (Romance Languages); Dr. M. Balkemore Evans, Professor Emeritus of German, Ohio State University (Germanic Languages); and Dr. Hubert McNeill Poteat, Professor of Latin, Wake Forest College (Classical Languages). In addition, some fifty papers will be presented in general and sectional meetings by scholars and teachers from various parts of the nation.

The First Conference on April 22-24, 1948, drew some 300 registrants, representing more than 100 schools and colleges and nine languages, from seventeen states.

Professor Jonah W. D. Skiles (Classical Languages) is Director of the Conference and Professors Adolph E. Bigge (Germanic Languages) and L. Hobart Ryland (Romance Languages) are Associate Directors. Programs may be had from Professor Skiles, Frazee Hall 102, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

SOME REMARKS ON THE *LATIN ANTHOLOGY*¹

The term 'flowers of poesy' is by no means peculiar to English. The tendency to think of poetry as a garden to be cultivated, keeping down unworthy weeds as best one may, for the sake of the delicate blooms culled by a master hand, whose fragrance will delight one's friends and contemporaries and subsequent generations, is almost as old as the art itself. This somewhat romantic conception of the pleasures afforded by poetry obtains especially in those periods, ancient and modern, when there is a cultivated public to appreciate the art of occasional verse. One has only to recall titles such as 'A Garland of Verse', common to many authors, Greek, Roman and modern; the *Silvae* of Statius, which might well be rendered 'Woodland Notes'; or a modern title such as R. L. Stevenson's *A Child's Garden of Verses*. But these 'gardens and woodlands of poesy' are the published collections of individual poets; they are in each case the product of a single gardener.

But there are other 'gardens of poesy', the product of many hands, the result of collection, growth and accretion. It remained for the Alexandrine Period, when the favorable conditions mentioned above obtained, to furnish Greek literature with its first general collection, so aptly termed *ἀνθολογία*, a word which the Romans adopted, rendering it by their equally expressive term *florilegium*. In this connection it may be profitable for us to consider briefly the origin and history of the collection of occasional Greek verse that has come down to us under the name of the Palatine Anthology, or more simply, the

Greek Anthology.²

This collection was first made in the Alexandrine Period, in which conditions especially favored the transition from the monumental to the purely literary epigram. The first collection seems to have been made about 60 B.C. by the sophist and poet Meleager of Gadara, which he entitled, be it noted, *Στέφανος*, 'The Garland'. At some time in the first century after Christ (probably in the reign of Tiberius, though some authorities would place it in the time of Trajan) the work of Meleager was continued by Philipppus of Thessalonika, who first employed the term *ἀνθολογία*. He added the compositions of no less than thirteen writers subsequent to Meleager. Under Hadrian another supplement was formed by Diogenianus of Heracleia, and Strato (or Straton) of Sardis added his collection subtitled *Μοῦσα Παιδική*, the *Musa Puerilis*. There seem to have been no further additions for centuries until the time of Justinian, when there occurred a revival of epigrammatic writing. At this time Agathias drew up a new anthology, calling it *κύκλος*, 'The Circle' (not, one might add, a flowery title!). He first divided the anthology into books arranged with reference to the subjects of the poetic pieces. But the final arrangement of the collection as we now have it was made about A.D. 917 by Constantinus Cephalas, who divided it into the present fifteen books. The modern term *Palatine Anthology* derives from the fact that this compilation of Constantinus Cephalas is best preserved in a manuscript formerly the property of the Elector Palatine (now partly at Heidelberg, partly at Paris). The Loeb Library has published its version in five volumes with an English rendering by W. R. Paton.

One of the chief claims of the Greek Anthology to our attention is derived from the fact of its continuity. Its very existence as a living and growing body of poetry exhibits for centuries the vicissitudes of Greek civilization. In this connection four stages may be distinguished:³ the Hellenic proper, the Alexandrine, the later Hellenistic or Roman period, and the Byzantine. While there is of course a certain amount of dull, puerile, indecent trash, mostly late, its value as literature is on the whole high. It is valuable also

for the light which it throws on Greek life, thought, and feeling for some nineteen hundred years. Its influence on modern European literature has been and continues to be enormous.

Does Latin literature possess anything even remotely comparable? When we turn to a consideration of the body of Latin verse known now as the *Latin Anthology* we find uncertainty as to the application of the term, combined with disregard of the contents. In the *Encyclopedia Britannica*⁴, for example, we find the following brief paragraph (after columns devoted to the *Greek Anthology*) describing—perhaps ‘dismissing’ would be a better word—the *Latin Anthology* as ‘A modern collection of fugitive Latin verse, from the age of Ennius to about A.D. 1000. Nothing corresponding to the Greek Anthology is known to have existed among the Romans.’ The paragraph then goes on to explain that the first general collection was Scaliger’s *Catalecta veterum poetarum* (1573), followed by Pithoeus’ *Epigrammata et Poemata e Codicibus et Lapidibus collecta* (1590). In the period from 1759 to 1773 Burmann produced his monumental *Anthologia veterum Latinorum Epigrammatum et Poematum*; this remained the standard edition until Riese brought out his Teubner text in 1869, subsequently revised for the Teubner series by Riese, Buecheler and Lommatzsch in a long-drawn-out edition begun in 1894 and not completed until 1926. Meantime that capricious emendator and rewriter of Latin texts, the eminent German scholar Baehrens, had incorporated a quite different version in volumes 4 and 5 of his more extensive *Poetae Latini Minores* (Teubner, 1882).

Now the Loeb Library, which, as previously mentioned, published the entire *Greek Anthology* in five volumes, has not seen fit to treat the *Latin Anthology* in corresponding fashion. Instead there appeared in 1934 a single volume entitled *Minor Latin Poets*, arranged and edited by J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff. In this one volume the editors and translators have confined themselves to certain minor authors represented by works of considerable extent and not published elsewhere in the Loeb series. This Duff volume contains, e.g., the *Sententiae* of

Publilius Syrus, the *Elegy on Maecenas*, the *Cynegetica* of Grattius, the *Bucolica* of Calpurnius Silicus, the *Laus Pisonis*, Hadrian, Nemesianus, the *Dicta Catonis*, the *Phoenix*, and Rutilius Namatianus—a most worthy and valuable collection, to be sure. It does not include the *Appendix Vergiliana* or the poems ascribed to Ovid and to Petronius, since they had already been included in the Loeb volumes of those authors; nor does it include what might well be termed the ‘prize piece’ of the *Latin Anthology*, the *Pervigilium Veneris*, which in the rendering of J. W. Mackail had already been appended to the single Loeb volume containing the works of Catullus and Tibullus. But of the considerable body of verse known to us as the *Latin Anthology* the Duffs have chosen only a few poems ascribed to Florus, the friend of Hadrian, and the surviving poems of the three 3rd-century authors, Reposianus, Modestinus and Pentadius, and one anonymous poem, the *Cupido Amans*. This relatively slight selection ignores entirely the greater portion of the *Latin Anthology* and most notably two authors represented not by a few fugitive poems but by work of considerable extent and a certain importance. I refer to Luxorius and Symphosius—of whom more later.

Let us return for a moment to our *Encyclopedia Britannica* and its description of the *Latin Anthology* as ‘a modern collection of fugitive Latin verse’ and the further statement that ‘nothing corresponding to the *Greek Anthology* is known to have existed among the Romans.’ This brief paragraph is signed with the initials H. J. R. Now this same redoubtable English scholar, H. J. Rose, has more recently brought out his own *Handbook of Latin Literature*.⁵ When the student in search of information reaches page 526 he finds the *Latin Anthology* treated not in the body of the text but abruptly dismissed in the following amazingly-worded footnote 187: ‘This is a collection of poems made in Africa, under the Vandal monarchy, by some unknown person possessed of a certain amount of learning and no sense whatever, whose affected preface, written in riddling language taken from glossaries, is still extant.’ This statement, though equally derogatory, does not

square with the paragraph which Prof. Rose revised for the *Britannica*. In that work there is no mention at all of ancient African compilation; in other words, Prof. Rose has chosen to define the term *Latin Anthology* in quite different fashion for the *Britannica* and for his own purpose in his *Handbook of Latin Literature*. And this subsequent recognition of ancient compilation renders his previous statement⁶ that 'nothing corresponding to the Greek Anthology is known to have existed among the Romans' demonstrably false, or at any rate, misleading, even if one should wish to quibble over the precise application of the term 'Romans'.

Granted that neither in range of authors, range of centuries, quality of verse, or in influence on modern literature does the *Latin Anthology* come even close to equality with the far greater *Greek Anthology*, yet there is definitely an anciently written and compiled body of Latin verse, whose origin and growth greatly resemble that of the *Greek Anthology* and certainly in those terms, at least, is comparable. This collection was made by a definite person or persons, at a definite time, and consisted of short poems of earlier authors plus contemporary additions, the division into books being determined by contents and by differences of authorship or form.

One of the most famed and most prized possessions of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is the great Salmasian Codex, a manuscript of the late 7th or early 8th century, written in uncials. It is so called from its former owner, the great 17th-century scholar Claude de Saumaise, into whose possession it came between 1609 and 1620. It contains corrections in the original hand, as well as many marginal emendations by Salmasius himself (to use the Latinized form of his name), who was a thorough scholar of penetrating insight and sound judgment. This great manuscript has been completely reproduced in facsimile by the Bibliothèque Nationale (in 1903), and its appearance is probably familiar to all in this audience. Now this Salmasian Codex contains on its first 188 pages a collection, or anthology, of minor Latin verse in 24 books, of which Books 1-6

are lost, but this deficiency is supplied by several other early mss., most notably of the 9th century. From internal evidence we can be sure of the date of compilation of this anthology much more precisely than we can ascertain that of the *Greek Anthology*. The numerous references to personages and affairs under the Vandal kingdom in Carthage make it probable that the collection was produced between A.D. 532 and 534 by means of compilation and enlargement of earlier collections. For under the Vandal kings Thrasamund (A.D. 496-523) and Hilderic (523-31) there occurred a minor renaissance of Latin literature and there flourished a group of African poets who looked back to the period of Silver Latin for their models and especially to the epigrammatist Martial.⁷

Comparatively few of the poems in this anthology are anonymous—many names occur, many titles are given; certain persons emerge as real individuals rather than mere shadowy names. Of the group as a whole Teuffel and Schwabe remark that they 'resemble one another in poverty of circumstances and meagerness of literary style.'⁸ Granted the 'meagerness of literary style' as compared with that of the best periods of Latin literature, one is a bit surprised by the reference to 'poverty of circumstances'. They were not all Martials, by any means. Following the fondness for elaborate titles characteristic of the later Roman Empire, many of the names have in addition a complimentary title such as *vir clarissimus* or *vir illustris*, which usually denoted the attainment of rank, recognition or distinction of some sort. Other names have the more simple designation of *scholasticus* or *grammaticus*. Because of this, the German editor of the Teubner *Anthologia Latina*, Riese, has drawn the conclusion that all authors so denoted were contemporaries of the compiler, and that those whose names appear without such title, as well as all poems appearing anonymously, were of earlier date.⁹ While this assumption seems plausible, too much weight should not be attached to it, for our earliest copy of the Codex Salmasianus is certainly no earlier than the late 7th century, i.e. at least 150 years after its compila-

tion at Carthage. Meantime many a title might have been added, altered, or lost in copying. And negatively, there is nothing to show that such a title might not have been possessed before the compilation, nor even if we grant the ascription of the titles to the compiler, can it be proved that he made his ascriptions only to living contemporaries.

What, then do we actually find when we turn to an examination of the contents of this *Latin Anthology*? What can we learn about the individuals comprising that industrious group that flourished in the early 6th century at Carthage under the Vandal kings? Which one of them is the most likely compiler? The answer to this last question has aroused considerable speculation among scholars, and while the answer can perhaps never be given with any likelihood of finality, there does exist a strong probability in favor of one individual, the greatest and most prolific of the group. Whether he made the compilation alone or in conjunction with several of his friends is not certain, but there is evidence that this person began, as did the first compiler of the *Greek Anthology*, in much the same way. He collected from various manuscript sources short poems of earlier authors; to these he added poems and occasional verse of his friends and contemporaries and a great deal of his own composition. To this augmented collection, now published as a unit, he or one of his followers prefixed a preface.

The *Praefatio* is a curious composition, indeed. It is not long, but it almost defies translation. For it is written in cant, the cant in this instance being that of the grammarian. It is a mass of unintelligible prose, patched together mainly from the glosses of Placidius, and exhibits in a brief compass more weird words than can probably be found in any passage of similar length in the entire range of Latin literature. Teuffel and Schwabe have this interesting observation to make about this preface:¹⁰ 'Regarded linguistically, this prose preface is a precursor of the subsequent foolish cant and occult language of the Scotch monks, which originated in the same manner.'

Passing on from this prickly preface to a consideration of certain authors represented in the collection,¹¹ we are confronted immediately by the efforts of a sixteen-year lad (for his age is proudly given with his name) Octavianus, the son of a prominent man of Carthage, a certain Crescentinus vir magnificus. That capricious emendator Baehrens¹² in his *Poetae Latini Minores* has one of his less likely flights of fancy in attempting to make this mere boy the compiler of the *Latin Anthology*—a position in which he is supported by no other scholar of repute, German or otherwise.¹³

We find also a Christian poem, by a certain *Calbalus grammaticus*, on a spring where he had been baptized and which he had enclosed in marble. This poem is pleasing and a not unworthy effort. To counterbalance this we note an exceedingly barbaric and conceited letter addressed by a Vandal count to a certain presbyter, accompanied by fulsome and adulatory verse—all in the most wretched taste.

One author who emerges as a more distinctive personality is *Flavius Felix vir clarissimus*. In conscious imitation of Martial he gives us five epigrams *de thermis Alianarum*. The last of these would have delighted that Gallic pedant Ausonius, for it is an even more complicated linguistic novelty (or atrocity, if you choose) than ever Ausonius produced. Imagine, if you can, a poem in praise of these baths, of 12 hexameter lines, the initial letters of which form an acrostic spelling out the name of the Vandal king Thrasamundus. Nothing strange about that—such misuses of the art of poetry had been common playthings of grammarians and litterateurs for several centuries. What makes this acrostic poem extraordinary is that it contains not merely an acrostic initially, but also a mesostich and a telestich. To accomplish this feat of verbal juggling it was necessary for each line to have exactly 37 letters—no more, no less—no mean task in itself. But in addition the 19th letter of each line must spell out the mesostich, while the final or 37th letter of each line spells out the telestich. So putting together initial acrostic, mesostich and telestich we get in this case the sentiment: '*Thrasa-mun-*

dus cuncta (for *cuncta*) *innovat vota serenans*, which might be rendered: 'Thrasamund renews the whole establishment (i.e. the *balnea*) in cheerful discharge of his avowed obligation.' What an effort expended for a result so small! Yet I suppose the frame of mind in which these efforts were accomplished is akin to that of the writer of parody or nonsense verse in our own time—it isn't poetry, but it's lots of fun.

This same Flavius Felix also gives us an extraordinary begging poem that quite outdoes any of Martial's more delicately phrased hints. It is addressed to a certain *Victorinianus vir illustis et primiscriniarius* (note that last title!). It contains several false quantities and concludes with the exceedingly blunt line:

clericus ut fiam, dum velis, ipse potes,
'that I become a clerk, provided you wish it, you personally can bring about', or in the modern vernacular: 'You can get me that job if you want to.'

We come now to the principal author represented in the collection of the Salmasian Codex, the leading figure of this Carthaginian group who in their own way carried on the traditions of Latin literature and Roman culture under the Vandal monarchy. He is Luxorius¹⁴ (the name also occurs in mss. as Luxurius or Luserius, but the form Luxorius is best attested). While there can be no positive proof that he was the compiler of the original *Latin Anthology* in A.D. 534, yet scholars are practically unanimous now that he is by far the likeliest candidate for this distinction.

For one thing—as a poet, he is the best of the lot. As a conscious follower of Martial he is a conscientious imitator of Martial in style, choice of meter and choice of subject matter. He thus carries on the tradition of the Latin epigram following the lines established by Martial and takes his rightful place among the transmitters of that influence to modern times. Then, too, Luxorius seems to have been somewhat of a leader among his contemporaries. Whether or not he personally is the actual compiler, his influence on the collection is the most evident. He is certainly the most prolific contributor. We thus have from his hand a sufficient body

of text crammed (like Martial's) with enough personal allusions to give us some idea of him as a distinct personality and not just another name. Through his local allusions and references we gain some insight into life at the court of the Vandal kings, life in a North African provincial capital transformed for a while into the capital of a Germanic monarchy, yet preserving to a surprising degree in this alien environment the language, literature, manners and morals of Rome—a name to conjure with, even in the 6th century.

Luxorius, following traditional lines, did the usual stuff—we find, for example, a Vergilian cento and a group of youthful poems dedicated to his friend Faustus, whom he describes as *grammaticae magister artis*. It is in his largest group, epigrams on persons and things, chiefly *ludi circenses* and works of art, that we find him at his best. Here he is strongly imitative of Martial, even to occasional obscenity, conventionally supposed to be essential to this type of literature. Luxorius is no mere dilettante—he is, if not scholarly, at least well-read. He knows his pagan literature and mythology and old legends, but like the provincial Gallie Ausonius a century and a half before his time, he was a professed Christian. Like Martial, he alludes to former circumstances of poverty; like Ausonius, he seems to have been successful at court, though he apparently never attained a political status comparable to the consulships and governorships held by that worthy professor.

Another bit of evidence attesting to the prominence of Luxorius and the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries is the number of poems dedicated or directed to him. By some scholars this is taken as additional evidence pointing to Luxorius as compiler of the collection, since such poems would be included on a basis other than intrinsic merit. For example, one line of an anonymous epigram declares fulsomely:

Priseos, Luxori, certum est te vincere vates.

One is tempted to render this line, with due regard both for its poetic merit and its obvious use of alliteration's artful aid, as 'Luxorius, you sure beat the old boys'. Or take this dedi-

eration of a treatise on grammar by his friend *Coronatus scholasticus et vir clarissimus* to *Domino eruditissimo peritissimorum atque industri fratri Luxorio*. How ancient a practise is literary backscratching! The modern 'puff' is but the latest means of carrying out a time-honored intent.

It would be quite possible to carry this paper on to almost any length, as one can a paper on Martial, by quoting copiously from among his numerous epigrams on various topics. I shall limit myself here to but a few references to lines which struck me as witty or amusing. One of the most frequent targets of the epigrammatists' wit was that dubious creature, the eunuch. Luxorius has several epigrams on this subject, one of which (No. 108 in Riese's edition) begins with an alliterative line which neatly sums up in a few words the eunuch's plight:

Quem natura marem dederat, fit femina ferro,
and concludes with an obvious pun:

Fidus enim est custos, qui sine teste datur.
There is a very amusing gibe (Riese No. 303) entitled 'On a Deacon Hurrying to Dine at an Inn', which starts out:

Quo festinas abis gula inpellente, sacerdos?
The final epigram of Luxorius (Riese No. 375) is amusingly entitled 'On a Cat, who, after Devouring a Rather Large Mouse, died of Apoplexy'.

But, as I mentioned before, the poems of Luxorius and his circle of North African fellow-poets by no means constitute the whole of this ancient *Latin Anthology*. We find here many poems of an earlier age ascribed, rightly or wrongly, to Vergil, Ovid, Seneca, Petronius, Martial, and others. Although scholars continue to differ in regard to the accuracy of the ascription in individual cases, most of these poems have been accepted as genuine and are commonly printed in editions of those authors. I refer you to the Teubner and Loeb volumes of those authors for confirmation. Mention has previously been made of the inclusion of three better-than-average 3rd-century poets, Reposianus, Modestinus and Pentadius and the anonymous *Cupido Amans* in the Duffs' Loeb volume of *Minor Latin Poets*. It is solely to the labors

of the compiler of the *Latin Anthology* that we owe the preservation of many an anonymous poem that graces Latin literature and that otherwise might have been lost, since they were not ascribed to any great name and hence not preserved in the mss. of earlier authors. I refer you, for example, to the *Cupido Amans* mentioned above, to the famous *Epistle of Dido to Aeneas*, to the *Aetna*, and above all, to that marvelous and admirable classic, the eternally fresh and ever lovely *Pervigilium Veneris*, with its haunting refrain.

I can not bring to a conclusion these remarks on the *Latin Anthology* without reference to one other author, admittedly minor, and yet possessing an importance peculiar to himself. For it is to the *Latin Anthology* that we owe the preservation of a century of riddles under the name of Symphosius,¹⁵ who although believed by some scholars to be a contemporary of Luxorius and his group and by one placed as early as Hadrian, is now considered most probably a contemporary or immediate follower of the 4th- and 5th-century rhetoricians and grammarians Ausonius, Macrobius and Martinus Capella, who delighted in jest, conundrum and quip for mental recreation. He is certainly a kindred spirit with these. It was Dr. Walton B. McDaniel of the University of Pennsylvania who first directed my attention to Symphosius in the *Latin Anthology* as an author awaiting an edition of text with translation and commentary, a suitable subject for a doctoral dissertation. Since, some years ago, I gave a paper before this Association on Symphosius,¹⁶ I will forbear going into detail on this subject. I will merely remind you that the importance of Symphosius lies in the fact that he is to riddle-writing what Martial was to the epigram; he gave it artistic form and set the standard for future generations. He has been rightly termed 'in one sense the father of the riddles of our era'. As the English scholar Tupper says in his edition of the *Riddles of the Exeter Book*: 'The enigmas of Symphosius have dominated all riddles, both artistic and popular, since his day.' He set the fashion for writing them in groups of a hundred. His riddles influenced widely

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all riddle-writing of the Middle Ages, beginning with those incorporated into the anonymous romance, the famous *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, which enjoyed a tremendous vogue throughout the Middle Ages. Even in the *Latin Anthology* there are other collections of riddles, most notably the 63 riddles of the 9th-century Berné ms., which show the influence of Symphosius. But it was among the writers of Latin riddles in the 8th century in England that the influence of Symphosius reached its height. We find such high episcopal personages as Aldhelm, Tatwine and Eusebius engaging in this pleasant form of literary diversion and openly acknowledging their indebtedness to their great precursor in this art, Symphosius.

The riches of the *Latin Anthology*, minor though they may be, should not be so lightly disregarded. There is material there yet to be adequately presented. Certainly no collection of Latin literature that aims at completeness, such as the Loeb, can afford to ignore the greater part of this anciently compiled body of minor Latin verse.

NOTES

¹ This paper was read at the Forty-first Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States at the University of Pittsburgh, April 23, 1948.

² For the origin and history of the Greek and Latin Anthologies see the article ANTHOLOGY by Richard Garnett in the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1910-11). This article was considerably abridged for the Fourteenth Edition (1929) by H. J. Rose.

³ For this division, with critical appraisal of each period, cf. Garnett *loc. cit. supra*.

⁴ The information and quotation that follow are from H. J. Rose's condensation and revision of Garnett's earlier and fuller article.

⁵ *A Handbook of Latin Literature from the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Augustine*, New York, E. P. Dutton, 1936.

⁶ Originally by Garnett but accepted by Rose. Cf. notes 2 and 4 *supra*.

⁷ Teuffel-Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, transl. from the 5th German ed. by George C. W. Warr, London, 1892.

⁸ §476 (p. 507).

⁹ Riese, *Anthologia Latina, Praef.* pp. xxvi-xxviii.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* §476, sec. 1.

¹¹ All references to names of authors and all quotations from here on are from the Teubner edition of Riese.

¹² Teubner 1879-83; revised ed. by Vollmer (1882-1923).

¹³ Baehrens, *P. L. M.* 4, 30; cf. comment by Teuffel-Schwabe, *op. cit.* §476, sec. 6 (p. 509).

¹⁴ Cf. LUXORIUS in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. XIII, col. 2102-09 (Stuttgart 1926); also O. Schubert, *Quaest. de Anthol. cod. Salm. 1: de Luxorio* (Leipzig 1875).

¹⁵ For Symphosius, cf. my edition; *The Enigmas of Symphosius*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1928.

¹⁶ 'Symphosius and the Latin Riddle', *CW* xxv, 25 (May 9, 1932), 209-12.

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THE ANCIENTS SPEAK TO THE MODERN WORLD*

'At the bottom of all problems of the World today is the problem of Man.'

It would not be unfitting for us who are dedicated to the study of all that is human and humanistic in the history of the world, to turn our thoughts today to some considerations evoked by these words of a recent pronouncement on the troubled state of the world in which we live.¹ I think it further fitting that we, as Classicists, might turn an ear to the clamorous voice of Man as it can be heard in the writings of the ancients of Greece and Rome, whose wisdom is often extolled but seldom pondered, often paid a scanty lip-service but rarely applied to the problems of humanity of which they spoke so wisely and so well.

The situation in which we live today can perhaps be summarized not inaccurately as a crisis in which Liberty is dying, because men have forgotten the meaning of Justice; the result has been the decay of Law and the inevitable consequence, the blackening cloud of War, and rumors of War hover over the face of the earth.

We need but go back to a day in the summer of the year A.D. 84 for a description of the horrors that have been engulfing our world in the last generation. On that summer day, a man arose in the Highlands of Scotland; he was pre-eminent by character and birth among all the chieftains of Caledonia and he addressed the assembled multitude of 30,000 men, gathered

now for the first time under a unified command to repel the invader that had come from across the seas in defiance of the personal rights of liberty and happiness of free-born men. That army came under the leadership of Agricola, behind the banner of Law, but it was one law for Romans (*ius naturae*) and another (*ius gentium*) for lesser men who had not been born citizens of Imperial Rome.

In the face of this threat, this Highland Chief-tain spoke out against unlawful aggression with the perennial voice of mankind, a voice that today is stilled and all but silenced in the roar of threats and recriminations between States that have forgotten that they are but the mouth-pieces, and not the substitutes, for Man, for the individual, for the human person. He, and his name was Calgacus, spoke and that day, he is MAN, pleading for the right to Justice and Liberty under Law that is the most sacred and the most human of all mankind's desires and aspirations.

We are the noblest men in all Britain, dwellers in this innermost shrine of our land; we have never looked upon the shores of slavery and we have kept our very eyes from the desecration and contamination of tyranny. We are as yet untouched by slavery, but our backs are to the wall, for the fleet of Rome threatens us from the waters of the northern sea. We shall fight for our land and for our own; for children and family are, by the law of nature, each man's dearest possessions. Today, they are being swept away from us to be slaves in other lands; our goods and fortunes are stolen for tribute, our very lives and limbs are to be worn away as slave labor in the forests and in the swamps. Meanwhile, we pay a double price for our servitude in that we have to feed our enslavers. Finally we are to be consigned to the galleys, a mockery even to our fellow slaves; and in this world-wide, age-old slave gang, we, the new hands, worth least, are marked to be made away with. The choice that lies before us is vengeance for the rape of our native land or intolerable slavery. Fortunately, we have learned at last, that a common danger must be repelled by unified action and my heart beats high that this very day and this unity of ours will be the beginning of Liberty for all this land. We shall fight then, as men untamed, as men who have never lost the vision of Liberty. Let us show them what manner of men Caledonia holds in reserve for her cause in her far places. Plunder, butchery, and robbery they call Empire; and when

they have created a desolate solitude, they call it Peace. *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*²

The battle was joined, and nearly two thousand years ago, Liberty fell before the might of Empire, and there was no peace. Tacitus tells us that the morrow of the battle revealed on a large scale the features of the victory: *vastum ubique silentium, deserti colles, fumantia procul tecta*: 'Everywhere was dismal silence, lonely hills and houses smoking to heaven.'³

Because might and power that day cared not for the liberty of free-born men, the legions of Agricola and Rome were being false to their nation's destiny. Slightly over a century before, Vergil had looked into a vision of the future and he saw through the eyes of his hero, what should have been the destiny of Rome. Aeneas stood before the hallowed shade of his dead father, and Anchises speaks these prophetic words:

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere, morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*

'Whatever art other nations may choose as their destined lot, remember thou, O Roman, to rule the nations with thy sway; these shall be thine arts—to crown peace with Law, to spate the humbled and to tame in War the proud.'⁴

'To crown peace with Law. . . .' In these words we may see the whole message of the *Aeneid*. Out of all the toil and suffering, there was to come a world of Peace, *redeunt Saturnia regna*, and a peace guaranteed by the sanctity of Law. For, Vergil's hero, Aeneas, had known the bitterest lees of defeat and discouragement, but at the nadir of his woes, he was conscious of the problem of Man, and he felt pity upon his followers, pity for the sorrows of mankind, for the tears that wash the cheeks of Man and the sorrows that wring his heart. Vergil too, knew the heart of Man and out of the wealth of his humanity he bespeaks courage to the downtrodden and defeated:

O socii—neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum—;

O passi graviores, dabit deus his quoque finem.

'O comrades—for ere this we have not been unacquainted with evils;—

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O ye who have borne burdens heavier far, to this, too, God will grant an end.⁵

The *Aeneid*, therefore, may also be seen as a portrayal of the problem of Man. And the problem of Man is perennially the problem of Man's Liberty and happiness. The direction has been pointed by Vergil—Peace will come through Law. Through a *lex naturae*, a natural law, a law imprinted in the heart of Man and not merely the whim of an irresponsible despot. From Vergil, we may turn to Sophocles in the *Antigone*. The daughter of tragic Oedipus stands before Creon and refuses to obey his unnatural command:

Yea! For Zeus, I think, never proclaimed this thing; Nor did Justice, fellow of the gods below, ever ordain for men such unnatural laws! Nor have I thought that your edict had such force, nor that you, being merely a mortal, could over-ride the unwritten and unswerving laws of heaven. For they are not of yesterday or of today, but from everlasting!⁶

This is the same Law of which Cicero speaks:

I see that it has always been the view of the wisest men that Law is not a product of human thought, nor is it the enactment of peoples, but something eternal, which rules the universe by its wisdom. Thus they have been wont to say that Law is the primal and ultimate mind of God whose reason directs all things either by compulsion or restraint. . . . This power is not merely older than the existence of nations and States, but it is coeval with that God who guards and rules heaven and earth. For the divine mind cannot exist without reason and the divine reason cannot but have this power to establish right and wrong.⁷

This concept of Law as Right Reason was adapted and penetratingly developed by St. Thomas Aquinas as 'an ordinance of Reason for the common good' and Natural Law was *participatio legis aeternae in rationali creatura*,—natural Law is divine Law as revealed through natural reason. If man, then, would conform himself to Natural Law, he has but to conform himself to his own nature as a rational being.

This is but another way of saying what is the triumphant terminus of the quest of the *Republic* of Plato, that, apart from all the variations of individual circumstances, there exists an absolute Justice, a harmony and if it exists within the nature of Man, that man is Just. Likewise,

the State will be just if in all its relationships between its various parts and those around it, there is the hierarchical structure in which Reason commands and the lower powers obey. In his most solemn passage, Plato tells us that 'there will be no surcease of evils among the cities of men till men recognize the preeminence of Justice.⁸ This Justice, writ large in the State but also deeply imprinted in the heart of Man, will be the basis of any Peace through Law.

It is but natural that we should turn to Aristotle in any discussion of the problem of Man. For he saw Man as a *πολιτικὸν ζῷον*, a social being, to whom social existence in the family, in the village, in the State, were but fulfillments of the natural exigencies of his rational nature. For, Man's natural element is the *πόλις*, an ordered Society in which the rights of his social existence are balanced by his social obligations. Virtue or Justice for this man lies in the Mean,—which implies that he must cede to the reciprocal rights of other men, lest he transgress and go to either extreme. It is for the advantage of this Social being that the State is organized, and 'The end of the State, is the good life; political society exists that men may be able to perform virtuous actions.'⁹

The problem of Man then, lies squarely before us, and we may summarize the results of our excursion among the ancients by saying that there will be no peace as long as the architects of the new world deny the existence of an objective Justice. For, without Justice, Law becomes tyranny, and in the words of St. Augustine:

*Remota itaque iustitia, quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?*¹⁰

Law becomes tyranny because it has no guiding star. As a result, Liberty dies, and as long as that imperishable flame burns within the heart of Man, whether he be Highland Chieftain, disfranchized peasant, embattled farmer, or Balkan shepherd, there will follow War, and War is always followed by *vastum ubique silentium, deserti colles, fumantia procul tecta*: a dismal silence reigns over all the land, lonely hills against the sky, and the smoke of burning homes

rises to heaven. *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

NOTES

* A paper read before the Classical Association of the Atlantic States on the occasion of the Autumn Meeting held in the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York, on November 30, 1946.

¹ Statement of the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States, 'Man and the Peace', Nov. 16, 1946.

² Tacitus, *Agricola*, 30-2.

³ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴ Vergil, *Aeneid*, VI. 851-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 198-9.

⁶ Sophocles, *Antigone*, 450-7.

⁷ Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, iv, 8-10.

⁸ Plato, *Republic*, 473 d.

⁹ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1281 a.

¹⁰ St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, IV, iv.

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REVIEWS

Studies in the Commerical Vocabulary of Early Latin. By OSCAR SCOFIELD POWERS. iii, 89 pp. (Chicago, University of Chicago Dissertation, 1944).

The purpose of these studies is 'to trace accurately the semantic changes of a limited number of words grouped under a loose cultural unity' (p. 1), a task which is done with a thoroughness, a precision, and a completeness that are a model of method for future semantic studies and reflect credit on both the author and the late Professor H. W. Prescott, who directed the dissertation. The author most wisely has limited his studies to 'Verbs of Buying and Selling' (Ch. 1), 'Terms for Money' (Ch. 2), 'Accounting Terms' (Ch. 3), and 'Dies Feminine' (App.) without any attempt to cover the complete ramifications of the commercial vocabulary. The reader, nevertheless, will find a multitude of words embraced, for the underlying principle of the work is that 'it is impossible to explain each word as an isolated semantic unity' without harmonization with 'the larger semantic unity of its compounds and derivatives'—a most important principle.

Under verbs of buying and selling are discussed the following verbs (with compounds and

derivatives): *emo*, *mercor*, *nundinor*, *concilio*, *destino* and *praestino*, *paro* and *pario*, *venio*, *do*, *veneo*, and *distraho*. Significantly, the author points out (pp. 1-5 and 36 f.) that the basic words for 'buy' (*emo*) and 'sell' (*do*) show a primitive 'take' and 'give' situation, i. e. exchange or barter. The compounds, derivatives, and non-related words then apparently expanded the semantic picture for refinement of commercial ideas.

In the list (pp. 5 f.) of derivatives of *emo* might well have been mentioned *eximo*, *promo*, *prompto*, *promus*, *comptionalis*, *sumo*, *apsumo*, and *sumptus*, all found in Plautus in commercial usage.¹ It is probable that the author does not intend to imply completeness, but his paragraph might lead the reader to believe that no other commercial derivatives than those which he mentions appear in early Latin. The additional derivatives emphasize the vigor with which the root *em-* developed in the commercial vocabulary of early Latin. Likewise, the discussion of *do* (pp. 36-8) might well have mentioned the commercial derivatives *credo*, *mando*, *commendo*, *mandatum*, *res mandata*, *perdo*, *reddo*, *trado*, *invendibilis*, *dos*, and *condono*.²

As an addendum to the discussion of *mercor* 'buy' the reviewer would like to recall his suggestion elsewhere³ that the possibility that *merc-* is a *-k-* extension of the root *mer-* (as is *mereo*) may mean that the basic meaning of *mer-* is 'to receive.' If so, we have in *mercor* 'buy' simply another manifestation (through *merx* 'something received in barter') of the 'give' and 'take' situation.

A most careful and admirably executed discussion of the semantics of *concilio* is given on pp. 8-16, but the author seems not to carry the parallel with Gr. ἀγοράζω far enough. The reviewer would posit for *concilio* a basic meaning 'do the activities of a concilium,' with at least two semantic offshoots: (1) 'win over, render friendly' (i. e. the activity of the demagogue) and (2) 'win over, win over to one's price, buy' (i. e. the haggling of the purchaser). Both activities are exceedingly likely to take place in any situation where people come together with regularity. Cf. the situation in the Roman

forum and the Greek ἀγορά and in the 'County Court Day' in rural Kentucky (where on the day set for the regular meeting of the County Court, large numbers of people gather at the county seat and considerable horse- and mule-trading takes place).

Another discussion that deserves special notice is the careful investigation of *destinare* and *praestinare* (pp. 17-29). Here Powers' exhaustive approach is clearly seen. Not only is the Latin and Greek linguistic material gone over, with careful attention to the context of the examples, but also the social evidence is used. Throughout the monograph are exhibited clearly the value and necessity of two important ancillaries of linguistic study: (1) the literary context and (2) the wider social context.

The chapter on 'Terms for Money' (pp. 40-60) is an excellent one and should be consulted by anyone wanting the linguistic or social picture of money in the earlier period of Rome. General terms discussed are *argentum* (the most frequent term), *pecunia*, *aurum*, *aes*, and *nummi*, with additional comment on specific coins and sums of money. The author avers that 'in no EL instance can it be said with certainty that *aurum* means 'money' as opposed to "gold" or "money of gold"' (p. 42). If this be true—and a re-examination of a large part of the evidence in Plautus convinces the reviewer of the reasonableness of the assertion (contrary to his previous opinion that *aurum* often simply meant 'money')—it seems likely to the reviewer that the fact that in the *Bacchides* the word *aurum* occurs seventy times (not including the meaning 'jewelry') and almost to the exclusion of other general terms for money is to be explained on the assumption that a sum of 'gold money' is part and parcel of the story. The author, however, offers the excellent suggestion that χρυσός, χρυσίον was used in the Greek original for the sake of 'alliteration or word-play' with the name of the slave Chrysalus, who has a leading role. So far as the reviewer knows, Powers' suggestion is the first ever offered to explain the situation. In addition to his excellent work on *aurum*, we are indebted to Powers for his searching discussion of the term *aridum argentum* and

his compelling conclusion that the term means 'dry money' in the sense that silver has a dry feeling to the touch as compared with lead and tin, where there is a 'soft and oily touch not dissimilar to that of a moist surface' (pp. 57-60).

The chapter on 'Accounting Terms' shows that 'a rather well-defined technical terminology' (p. 61) existed. Here again appears a considered discussion including Greek parallels and much social context. An interesting semantic parallel to the modern 'take-home pay' idea seems to the reviewer to be implied in the expression *domum trahere* in *Mos.* 801: *lucri quidquid est id domum trahere oportet*, which Powers translates boldly as 'whatever profit there is one ought to regard as his own private account' (p. 76).

The Appendix on 'Dies Feminine' adds further discussion to the question as to whether *dies* masculine and *dies* feminine are to be semantically distinguished. The author feels that 'the basic meaning of the feminine was at least until the empire primarily "time"' and that the rarity of the feminine plural (only 4 exx. in the *Thesaurus*) is to be attributed to the fact that the idea cannot have a plural (p. 88). Incidentally, this appendix 'began in an effort to explain the EL instances of the word which means "period of time allowed for paying money"' and was enlarged to a separate section when it became apparent that adequate method demanded a study of the general significance of *dies* feminine (p. 1).

The reviewer has much praise and little adverse criticism for this most excellent dissertation; however, an index of the words discussed would have been a worthwhile addition for rapid consultation of the fund of information given. It is to be hoped that Powers will give us later the same sort of critical survey for the remainder of the commercial vocabulary of Early Latin.

NOTES

¹ Cf. the reviewer's 'The Commercial Vocabulary of Early Latin As Shown in the Comedies of Plautus,' *Classical Journal* XXXVI (1940-41), 520, for citations.

² *Ibid.*, 520 f.

³ *Ibid.*, 524 f.

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The Athetized Lines of the *Iliad*. By GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING. pp. 200. Baltimore: Waverley Press, 1944. \$4.00.

I have read this work through with great care, parts of it more than once. I have no prejudices about the Homeric question save one, namely that I am convinced, on purely linguistic grounds, that 'Homer' can not possibly be one. That is a prejudice in favor of Mr. Bolling's theory, essentially the theory which he stated in his *External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (1925), now formulated with greater precision, but also elaborated, and yet stated in brief compass.

In contrast with Ptolemaic papyri, later papyri show a shorter text which Bolling maintains to be identical with the text of Aristarchus, including the athetized lines. In broad terms, the text of 'Homer', like that of the Sanskrit epic, the Mahābhārata, was always attracting additions to itself, at least so long as the tradition of epic composition remained alive.

Some of the 'additions', i.e. lines which did not stand in 'an Athenian text earlier than the sixth century', naturally make a strong 'literary' appeal. But Bolling is scarcely concerned with this, nor need he be. A growing 'Homer' was what was 'Homer', and long had been at that date. The process still went on. But after the attempt had been made to stabilize the text in Athens in the sixth century, later additions could be detected, sometimes by incongruity or other subjective tests. What Zenodotus and his successors were trying to do, was to fortify a stable text, in part even by objective tests. Bolling's work is in the same tradition, and it strikes me both as sound and scholarly, but not 'scientific.' Since words change their meanings, 'scientific' means something quite different from anything that Bolling can now do. He would have to go back to college as a Freshman and study science, in order to become a scientist or to do scientific work.

His claim that his work is 'science', and that it has in particular analogies with 'linguistic science' is preposterous, and has marred an otherwise outstanding piece of work. Mr. Bolling

mistakes a constricted, not to say (in the literal meaning of the word) constipated, for a scientific, style. His claims to an affinity between his method and linguistics perhaps—and fortunately—help to explain why a committee containing not one Hellenist, or even a Classical scholar, approved publication. But linguistics is not a science, but a branch of philology, and ultimately of philosophy. But Mr. Bolling proudly, and deservedly, points out that his theory of athetization has been confirmed by the readings of the later papyri. But he may not call this *prediction* in the scientific sense. What he has done has been to formulate, acutely and accurately, a critical principle whereby his theory is supported and even demonstrated. But it is all a matter of textual criticism, in fact a form of divination, that has no more to do with prediction than *Potomac* with *potamós*. Many good critics have performed the same feat many times, albeit in narrower scope. Scientific prediction can foretell the occurrences of eclipses; it was able, on purely theoretical grounds, to foretell nuclear fission and what would accompany it; it can tell what happens to water at a certain temperature under a certain barometric pressure the world over. This is something totally different in kind, not in degree. When linguistics can foretell the state of English or of Swahili after a thousand years have gone by, that will be prediction. The attempt to turn linguistics into a science is simply turning the subject into a pseudo-science. And Huxley, cited by Sturtevant,¹ would have considered modern linguistics uncommon nonsense. Surely Mr. Sturtevant, as well as Mr. Bolling, knows that words change their meaning and in 1947 science does not mean 'trained and organized common sense.'

Bolling's theory must therefore be judged on the principles of textual criticism. But the textual criticism of 'Homer' is not at all like that of an author such as Vergil or Lucretius. Almost any cultivated Athenian in the days, say, of Pericles, having learnt his 'Homer' by heart as a youth, was capable of improvisation, and good improvisation too, of 'Homeric' lines. No wonder that quotations from Homer in Attic authors differ so much and so often from the

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'vulgate', or that Zenodotus and Aristarchus found so much to athetize. Parry's work, which Bolling does not deign to mention, proved how easy 'formulaic' composition might be, just as it proved, what was anathema to Parry, that 'Homer' could not possibly be the work of one man. The oral tradition continued long after the creation of Bolling's π , i.e. the sixth-century Athenian text. Hence the Alexandrian athetization. The later papyri omit late accretions, precisely because they were accretions—not because the papyri are direct descendants of π . Hence also there may be much in the vulgate that is worthy of acceptance on 'literary' grounds (as to those I am no judge) as 'Homer', inasmuch as it is strictly in line with 'Homeric' tradition; and similarly much to be rejected, as the case may be, on whatever aesthetic or critical grounds are adequate. This, however, is another question. In his attempt to reconstruct π I am satisfied that Bolling is on the right track, much as I dislike the style of his writing, with its strong and repellent note of arrogance and disdain. If Mr. Bolling were infallible, there would be even no misprints e. g., p. 13 *desarble*; p. 18 *wich*, 43 *πολλας*, unaccented).

NOTES

¹ *Linguistic Science*, p. 1. *Ibid.* p. 122, n. 12, add CP XXXIX (1944), 218. But I demand no right to anything, except the right to expose ignorance when I see it.

JOSHUA WHATMOUGH

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The Ides of March. By THORNTON WILDER. viii, 246 pp. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1948.) \$2.75.

Novelists, poets, and playwrights have often found in the literature and history of the ancients traditional sources of inspiration for their own compositions. One of the least distinguished fictionalized accounts of the lives and times of characters who appear prominently in Roman history is Mr. Thornton Wilder's novel, *The Ides of March*.

Purporting to be 'a fantasia on certain events and persons of the last days of the Roman re-

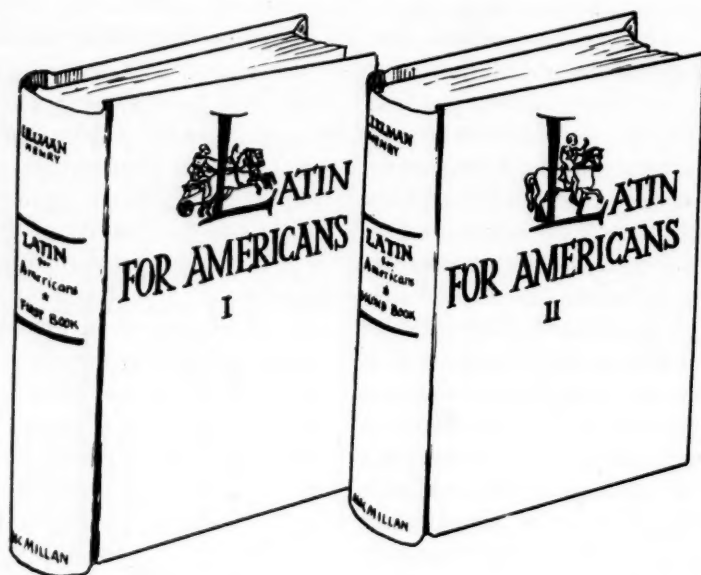
public' (p. vii), the story follows the final three months of Caesar's life through a somber *mélange* of political intrigue, philosophical inquiry, religious mysteries, and illicit love affairs. Four major events set the tone and establish the direction of the novel: Clodia Pulcher's dinner party, her brother's profanation of the rites of the Bona Dea, Caesar's ensconcing Cleopatra at Rome, and the tragedy of the March Ides. The details of the narrative unfold in documentary fashion. Frequent allusions to classical antiquities, which have been woven into the record, establish an ancient atmosphere. In the interest of dramatic values the *cause célèbre* of 62 B.C. takes place in the early winter of 45 B.C. Hence, Pompeia appears as Caesar's third wife, and the dictator's acquaintances include not only Cleopatra, Cicero, and Brutus, but Catullus, Clodius, Clodia, the younger Cato, and his esteemed aunt Julia.

This startling reversal of history is not, however, one of the major defects of the novel. The truth is that the story is markedly lacking in character development and sufficient plot to maintain interest through a series of 72 letters and documents. Even the most familiar men and women of the period never penetrate the awkwardly conceived discussions of religion, philosophy, and politics. Caesar himself is so thinly drawn that the uninformed may well feel that he never existed. Characters thus treated, of course, provide almost no narrative momentum, and the result is a misty revelation of ancient history. No doubt it is a revelation which was intended to have overtones of tragic meaning for today's culture, but whatever the modern implications were, they have eluded this reviewer.

In retrospect one is pleased to think how much vitality the antics of Caelius Rufus, alive and kicking in 62 B.C., might have added to these dull goings-on, and to remember with pleasure and contrast Sallust's historical analysis of the events of the preceding year.

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